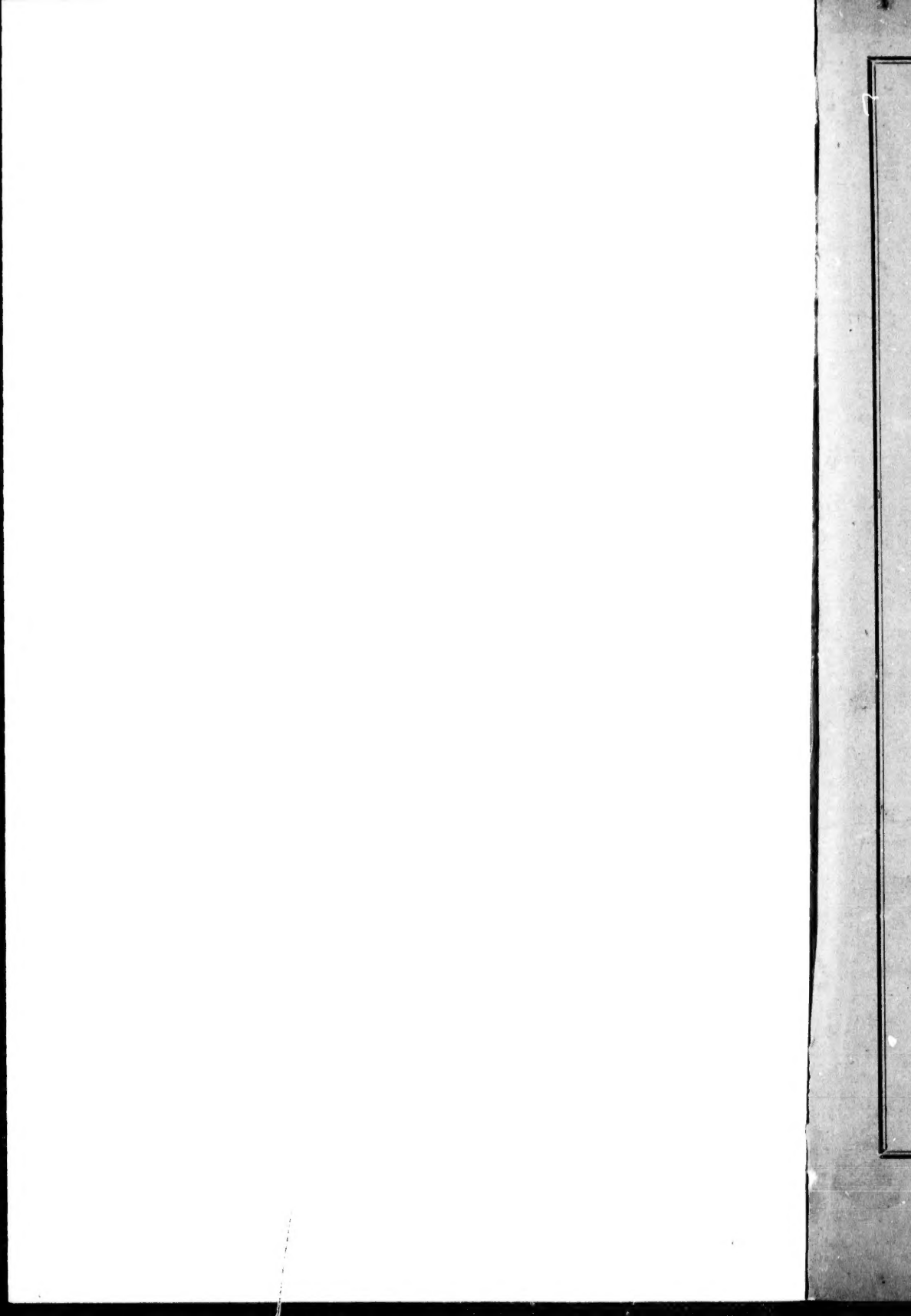




J. Morison

SABBATH OBSERVANCE

SPEECH

OF

JOHN CHARLTON, M.P.,

ON

BILL TO PROVIDE FOR BETTER OBSERVANCE
OF THE LORD'S DAY.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

26th FEBRUARY, 1885.

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Mr. CHARLTON moved the second reading of Bill (No. 19) to provide for the better observance of the Lord's Day, commonly called Sunday, by prohibiting Sunday excursions in certain cases. He said: In rising to-night to advocate the passage of this Bill, I will acknowledge that the propriety of my course would be open to doubt, were there no other law to warrant it than mere human law. But, Sir, there is such a thing as a higher law, a law recognised by this nation, which is avowedly a Christian nation, and recognised by all Christian nations; and it is under the warrant and the provisions of that law that it is proper to urge the passage of a Bill of the character of that now before the House. If we had nothing but mere human law to actuate us, it would not be proper to urge the Bill; but as human law is overshadowed by this higher law, the human law-giver has no right to pass an enactment that supersedes the decalogue. The human legislator has no right to pass an enactment that defies or sets at naught the spirit of justice and truth. The human law-giver may not pass a law that casts discredit upon morality. The higher law is, in fact, the law of the world. We have it expressly declared by the Almighty that "By Me kings reign and princes decree justice." All human laws should be tried by this higher law; all the world is under it to-day, whether that law is recognised by the world or not; and by the provisions of this higher law, governors, princes, kings, and the people of this earth shall ultimately be judged. Now, Sir, the requirement of the observance of the Sabbath forms a part of that higher law. It is one of the provisions of the Decalogue which is binding upon man. And if we turn to ecclesiastical utterances, we

shall find that, so far as the authorities of the Protestant Church are concerned, their utterances upon this point are a unit. There exists no diversity of opinion among them as to whether the fourth commandment is binding upon the human race and upon governments. If we turn to the utterances of the prelates of the Catholic Church, we shall also find their recognition of that law, clear and unmistakable. I find, Sir, that at the request of His Grace Archbishop Gibbons, of Baltimore, His Holiness, Pope Leo XIII delivered an earnest address to the Roman Catholic Church which opposes Sunday and festival profanation. From the address, which was published in the *Catholic Mirror*, of April 23, 1881, I take the following extract:—

"The observance of the Sacred Day which was willed expressly by God from the first origin of man, is imperatively demanded by the absolute and essential dependence of the creature upon the Creator. And this law, mark it well, my beloved, which at one and the same time so admirably provides for the honor of God, the spiritual needs and dignity of man, and the temporal well-being of human life. This law, we say, touches not only individuals, but also people and nations, which owe to Divine Providence the enjoyment of every benefit and advantage which is derived from civil society. And it is precisely to this fatal tendency, which to-day prevails, to desire to lead mankind far away from God, and to order the affairs of kingdoms and nations as if God did not exist, that to-day is to be attributed this contempt and neglect of the Day of the Lord. They say, it is true, that they intend in this way to promote industry more actively, and to procure for the people an increase of prosperity and riches. Foolish and lying words! They mean, on the contrary, to take away from the people the comforts, the consolations and the benefits of religion; they wish to weaken in them the sentiment of faith and love for heavenly blessings; and they invoke upon the nations the most tremendous scourges of God, the just avenger of His outraged honor."

This, Sir, is the language held by the head of the Roman Catholic Church. With regard to the utterances of the church dignitaries, I find that a pastoral was issued by His Grace Archbishop Taschereau, dated April 26, 1880, which is clear and emphatic in regard to this matter. The Archbishop, in referring to "a disorder which seeks the public gaze, and which causes deplorable scandal," says:

"We mean, O dearly beloved brethren, those pleasure excursions made on Sundays and feasts of obligation, on steamers, on the railway, and sometimes in a long train of vehicles. Experience proves that they give rise to such disorders of intemperance and immorality that we feel obliged to prohibit absolutely, and under pain of mortal sin, pleasure excursions on Sundays and feasts of obligation. . . . Wherefore, having invoked the holy name of God, we rule and ordain as follows:— 1st. We forbid, under pain of grievous sin, the faithful of this diocese, to take part on Sunday or feasts, in pleasure excursions, on railways, on steamers, or in vehicles, even when the profit of those excursions is intended for a good work. It is not our intention, however, to condemn the pilgrimages made on those days, provided recollection, piety, and good order be observed."

I will also refer, Sir, to a few other Roman Catholic authorities on this matter. Several bishops have issued able and timely addresses on the subject. The Bishop of Buffalo, in calling renewed attention to this subject, after forbidding pic-nics, excursions, fairs, etc., on Sundays and holy days, said:

" 'Remember thou keep holy the Sabbath Day,' is God's own command. * * * We must not only rest from all unnecessary, servile work, but we must hear mass and spend the day—or, at least, a good part of it—in the service of God and religious duties. * * * Ours is not, as we have said, a Jewish or a Puritanical Sabbath, nor do we measure its obligatory observance by a sectarian standard or any American or national idea; yet we would be sorry to see the respect in which our separated brethren hold the Lord's Day weakened or discredited. God grant that we may never see the Sunday profaned here in our own country as we have seen it in other lands."

Bishop Keane, of Richmond, Va., at a meeting called by his authority, after a powerful address against the selling of liquor on Sunday, submitted a series of resolutions for adoption and a pledge for signature, setting forth the sacred obligation of keeping holy the Lord's Day, recognising the selling and drinking of liquor on that day as violations of the commandment of God and the precept of the Church, etc. Cardinal McCloskey, in 1882, said:

"We wholly denounce and absolutely forbid excursions or pic-nics on Sundays, or after dark, all moonlight excursions and all Sunday pic-nics, and we exhort our good people who love their church to abstain from any participation in such scandalous, unhallowed and disgraceful practices, and to use all their influence to suppress them."

The following are extracts from New York papers, when Strakosch attempted Sunday operas there:—

"Cardinal McCloskey was reported in the *Herald* to have said: 'You may say that I am opposed to what is generally regarded as Sunday evening concerts, and that, while not very Puritanical or domineering, I oppose the sensational amusement, which advertises itself under the name of sacred concerts, but which is nothing else than the ordinary week day show,' etc."

Dr. McGlynn, a prominent Roman Catholic clergyman, is reported to have said:

"In France, Sunday is more of a tiresome holiday than a rest. This disregard for the Sabbath acts unfavorably on religion. The Sabbath I have always regarded as a great social conservator in this country. The regard in which Sunday has been held by the English-speaking nations, has had much to do with their keen sense of decorum and efficient civilisation. * * * The Sunday rest should be a set-off to the weekly work, and Sunday night quiet, to the boisterousness and enjoyment of the week nights."

I add to these expressions of opinion, some utterances from eminent Protestant divines, selecting four or five extracts. The first is from the celebrated divine, Taylor Lewis, LL.D., of New York, who says:

"What a hell-upon-earth would our great cities become, and in time our land become, with one day in seven given up to idleness, to the theatre, to dissipative shows, to unchecked intemperance, or to the driving on of that flood of worldliness, which, in spite of all religious restraint, is even now threatening destruction to all that is noblest and purest in our social life."

Rev. Dr. Kogel, a Court preacher in Germany, has delivered an address, in which is presented a sad view of the immorality of the Berlin people :

"The necessity of work, and the tyranny of work rob men of their Sunday rest. And the afternoon of Sunday, which a part of the working men have for themselves, is spent in dissipating pleasure, in drinking saloons and theatres, where all that is sacred is mocked and adultery glorified."

Dr. Arthur Pierson, of Philadelphia, in an address upon Sabbath observance, says :

"A community that consents to the wanton destruction of the Christian Sabbath is committing virtual suicide ; it is like a man who cuts off his left arm with his right. And if you want to see the natural and providential retribution that follows such a course, go and study the history of the French Revolution, when a nation went down into the gulf of anarchy."

And again :

"Voltaire was no fool ; he saw that an habitual observance of the Sabbath, with its stated seasons of religious meditation and public worship, must both preserve and extend Christianity in any community ; and he acknowledged that he despaired of being able to expel from the world superstition, by which he meant religion, so long as persons assemble regularly and in large numbers for the worship of God. And you will find that wherever the Lord's Day is regarded as set apart by Divine authority, and is observed as a day of rest from ordinary work, and of occupation in spiritual things, the hold of both Christian precepts and moral principles is correspondingly firm and strong. The Sabbath is the very bulwark of social order."

But why multiply quotations from pastors and divines. I proceed to enquire whether Sabbath laws are inconsistent, firstly, with the higher law ; secondly, whether they are inconsistent with the laws and institutions of this Empire ; thirdly, whether they are inconsistent with the laws and institutions of the English-speaking nations and commonwealths ; and, lastly, whether they are inconsistent with the principles of human liberty. This higher law with regard to the Sabbath of which I speak first, was not a law which governed the Jews in their observances under the Mo-aic dispensation only, but it was a law coeval with creation itself. Two great institutions mark the first laws given to man. These two institutions are the rest of Sabbath and marriage. The Sabbath is instituted, the command is given in the same chapter, the second chapter of Genesis, as that in which the ordinance or sacrament of marriage is instituted. It is known that the Sabbath was observed long before the giving

of the law upon Mount Sinai; Moses, himself, refers to breaches of this command before the law was written upon the tables of stone. This command, that out of the seven days, one should be observed as a day of rest, was observed from the earliest days of creation; the language of the commandment proves this. The language of the fourth commandment is to remember to keep holy the Sabbath day. "Remember" a law already in existence; remember a law now and hitherto binding upon you. "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy; and the reason is given: For in six days God made the heaven and the earth, and the sea and all that in them is, and rested on the seventh; wherefore He blessed the Sabbath day and hallowed it." The Decalogue which contains this command is a moral enactment not limited in its application to any race, area, or time. It is a law which prohibits not only Sabbath desecration but idolatry, blasphemy, disobedience to parents, falsehood, theft, and murder. All these crimes, as well as the crime of desecrating the Sabbath, are mentioned in this law. This seventh day, it is evident from the language of the Bible, was ordained by the Creator of the world. We are told in the New Testament that all things were made by Christ. We are told that for Him and by Him all things were created, and we are told that He is the Lord of the Sabbath, and that man was not made for the Sabbath but the Sabbath was made for man.

Proceeding on this authority, we find that the laws of the nation of which we form part have recognised the binding character of Sabbath observance from the earliest ages. We find a statute passed in the year 876 by King Alfred, which distinctly recognised the binding character of the fourth commandment, which incorporated the entire Decalogue as part of the English law. We find that law reaffirmed and its provisions extended by various monarchs. The list of statutes in England requiring the observance of the Sabbath is a very long list. The law was amended in 925; it was again amended in 958; again in 1009; again in 1017; amended again in 1354 under Edward III; again in 1388 under Richard II; again 1428 under Henry VI; in 1464 under Edward IV; in 1552 under Edward VI; in 1558 under Elizabeth; in 1617 the colony of Virginia adopted the Sabbath law; in 1625 the law was again amended under Charles I; in 1643 the first Sabbath law in the colony of New Haven was adopted; in 1644 it was adopted in Scotland; in 1648 in Massachusetts; in 1648 in New York; in 1661 it was again amended and perfected in its operation in the reign of Charles II. In 1837 liquor selling was prohibited for the

first time in Massachusetts, and in 1833 in Great Britain; in 1854 liquor shops were closed upon the Sabbath day in Scotland; and in the same year a proposition to open museums in London was defeated by a vote in the House of Commons of 237 to 48; in 1856 a similar proposition was defeated in the Commons by 376 to 48; and in 1878 it was defeated in the House of Lords by 76 to 39. The present English law with regard to the observance of the Sabbath is in many respects a stringent law. It is unnecessary to enter into details in regard to its provisions, but the fact that such a law exists upon the Statute Book of England is a proof that the power rests with the Government of England and with the Government of the colonies to make provisions with regard to the observance of the Sabbath. If we go to the country across the border we find that Sunday laws exist in every one of the thirty-eight States of the Union, except California. One general feature of these laws is the prohibition of any work on the Sabbath, except works of necessity and mercy. In the details of these provisions, various features exist, various differences exist in the different States. In some States only one local train and milk trains are permitted to run. In Massachusetts no train can run except by consent of the railroad commissioners. In all these States provisions are made for the purpose of securing the observance of the Lord's Day.

My next enquiry will be: Are Sabbath laws, which we find exist upon the Statute Book of Great Britain, and which have been a part of the English code for a thousand years, which exist in every one of the American States but one, which exist in this country and exist in all the English colonies, are these laws inconsistent with the principles of human liberty, are they an infringement on human right, or is there a sufficient reason for the enactment of these laws, consistently with the principles of human liberty? Law in the abstract expresses what just men will not do, and what other men must not do. Law restrains human liberty, it restrains the liberty of human action, it says that human action shall be free in certain directions and certain channels only, and, when human action transcends these bounds, then human law steps in and prohibits and punishes the transgression of the bounds laid down. The object of human law is to provide for the public good. That should be the object of it. The underlying principle should be the greatest good to the greatest number. It is upon this principle that the dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church have acted in the pastorals I have read. It is upon this principle that human law should be enacted. Now, Sabbath laws are not inconsistent with

human liberty, in this respect, that they are calculated to promote public health. I find that, at the time the World's Exposition was held in London, 641 medical men of London, in a petition to Parliament against the opening of the Crystal Palace on the Sabbath for profit, said:

"Your petitioners, from their acquaintance with the laboring classes and the laws which regulate the human economy, are convinced that the seventh day of rest, instituted by God and coeval with the existence of man, is essential to the bodily health and mental vigor of men of every station of life."

This law also prohibits cruelty to animals. It may restrict human liberty in that respect, but it is consistent with it, because it is a humane and just law. This law promotes public morals. You have only to look at Sabbath lands and contrast the condition of those lands with that of lands where the Sabbath is not observed, and you will find proof enough of the assertion that it does promote public morals.

It is again consistent with liberty, inasmuch as it is an educational law. The church and the Sabbath school are the mightiest educational agencies existing in the world to-day, and they have always been the mightiest educational agencies. The Christian church is the great educational agency, and we owe to it all that marks the difference between our condition and the condition of pagan lands. If we stop to consider, we will find that the Sabbath gives one-half as much time for study as the time devoted to study in the schools, if we deduct from the latter the time given for vacations. It is consistent again, with the principles of human liberty, because it conserves and protects the home. We find, as I stated awhile ago, that marriage, the institution upon which the home and the family rest, was instituted at the same time as the Sabbath was instituted—both are Edenic institutions. And we will find, with reference to the influence of profanations of the Sabbath upon homes, that the condition of homes where the Sabbath is not kept always presents an unfavorable contrast to the condition of Christian homes. Dr. Lowe, of Berlin, a physician in very extensive practice, states that in the course of his practice he had visited 9,000 Sabbathless homes, and he found in every case slovenliness, discord, slipshod family relations no family life in fact, but the wine shop, and vice, and dissipation usurping the life which should exist in the family. Sabbath rest is essential to the head of the family, because it is of the utmost importance that he should be enabled to spend one day in seven with his family; and, if good homes are the bulwark of the nation, as they

unquestionably are, then any institution which is calculated to promote, to create, to multiply good homes, is an institution which is not inconsistent with human liberty, but one that should meet with the approval of every just and good man.

Again, laws of this kind are not inconsistent with human liberty because they prevent crime. The great Daniel Webster said, in relation to this matter: "It is the bulwark of liberty because it is the bulwark of morality." Where no such laws exist, the Sabbath is the most prolific of crimes of any day in the week. In December, 1882, the police of New York City commenced a stringent execution of the Sabbath laws in that city. All drinking places were closed, all infractions of the law were vigorously suppressed, and the consequence was that the streets of New York were as quiet as the streets of a country village, and the Monday calendar of crime was very much lighter than upon days when the Sabbath law had not been enforced in that city. Professor Rosher, the famous political economist of Leipzig, Germany, says: "It is a characteristic of societies where the Sabbath is not observed that the Sabbath is the prolific day for suicides among women and Monday for suicides among men." The woman, sad and neglected at home, commits suicide on the Sabbath; and the husband, coming home from a Sunday's saturnalia, and spending a blue Monday, is likely, if he commits suicide at all, to commit it on that day. The special Sabbath Committee of the English Parliament in 1882, said: "It appears in evidence that in each trade, in proportion to the desecration of the Lord's Day, is the immorality of those engaged in it." S. Cutter, of the New York Prison Association, says: "Sabbath desecration is almost always connected with crime and is the forerunner of it." He also says that, out of every hundred men incarcerated in the Massachusetts state prison, at least ninety of them are Sabbath-breakers. Chaplain Barnes, of that prison, says: "When a church-goer comes to prison, it invariably makes a sensation among the prisoners." The celebrated judge, Matthew Hale, says that those convicted of capital crimes, when he was on the bench in the great majority of cases, confessed that the commencement of their career of crime lay in the neglect of the Sabbath; and Justice Strong, of the United States Supreme Court, gives utterance to the same sentiments. We will find that, wherever the cry is raised that the Sabbath must go, it is a hoodlum cry, that it is loudest among the vile, that it comes from the class opposed

to all law, human and Divine, that it is the cry of the nihilist, of the socialist, and of that enemy of civilisation the dynamiter. The basest of all classes are the classes who are opposed to the restraints of the Sabbath.

I urge, in the next place, that Sabbath enforcement is not inconsistent with the principles of human liberty, because it promotes the prosperity of the individual and the prosperity of the State. We have, in fact, the Divine promise that "in the keeping of my commandments there is great reward." That promise is always fulfilled. In keeping these commandments there is great reward—great reward to the individual, great reward to the nation. It ensures prosperity in the one case and in the other; and it will be found, Sir, that the best moral condition and the greatest industrial prosperity are always inseparable. It will be found, moreover, that every non-Sabbath-keeping country in the world is comparatively poor. If we compare the condition of England, the condition of the British Colonies, the condition of the United States, where the British and American Sabbath is kept, with the condition of such countries as China, India, Japan, Turkey, Russia, Germany, Italy and Spain, and the Spanish American States, we will find sufficient proof of this assertion.

I notice, next, that the enforcement of Sabbath observance is not inconsistent with the principles of human liberty, because it promotes the best interests of the laborer and of the masses; it promotes, in short, the greatest good to the greatest number. The Sabbath is the day of rest; it is the law which gives the laboring man one day in seven as a day of rest; it is the law which shields him from the merciless exaction of capital, from the exactions of those for whom he labors. We will find, Sir, that this one day in seven is a natural arrangement. Seven was the sacred number; the week of the ancients was a week of seven days. Other periods of rest have been tried. Under the French Government, in the days of the Revolution, the Sabbath was abolished, and a rest of one day in ten was established, and experience proved that that was unnatural. One day in six has been tried, one day in eight, and one day in nine. One day in six has been found to result in the rest coming too often. Wherever the day of rest has been more seldom than one day in seven, experience proves that it does not come often enough, and that one day in seven is the natural period of rest. And, Sir, it is a law of nature that rest is required for animals—rest even is required for machinery. In fact, physicians will tell you that a cessation of medical treatment for one day in seven in almost all cases produces

beneficial results. Now, Mr. Speaker, the laboring man is deeply interested in this matter. If Sabbath restrictions are observed the laboring man will receive six days' pay for six days' labor; but if the barrier of the Sabbath is broken down, the result proves that the laboring man receives six days' pay for seven days' labor; that the day of rest is gone, but the aggregate of the man's earnings is not increased. This, Sir, is always the case. It is well known that the tendency now-a-days is to over-production. The increased facility for production, by means of the discovery and improvement of machinery, renders it difficult to keep production within the bounds of the demand; and to increase the laboring days from six in a week to seven, is still farther to aggravate the evil of over-production that already exists. A fisherman of New Romney, in England, when on examination with regard to this matter of labor on the Sabbath, said he had discovered that Sunday fishing kept down the price of fish. There was a great deal of philosophy in that remark. Sunday fishing would keep down the price of fish. Sunday labor of this kind is detrimental to the interests of the laborer, of whatever calling the laborer may be. The celebrated Louis Blanc says :

"The English working man produces as much in 56 hours as the French working man does in 72, because his forces are better husbanded, in consequence of resting one day in the seven."

The celebrated John Stuart Mill says :

"The operatives are perfectly right in thinking that if there was no Sunday rest, seven days' work would have to be given for six days' pay."

And Paley, long ago, put the same truth more strongly, when he said :

"An addition of the seventh day's labor to that of the other six would have no other effect than to reduce the price."

An attack, Sir, upon Sunday rest is an attack upon the interest of the laborer, because Sunday's rest is the poor man's blessing and the poor man's day. To day, Sir, in English-speaking lands, there are 2,500,000 people, to say nothing of those engaged in domestic service and in works of necessity, who are deprived of their Sunday rest—2,500,000 persons who are deprived, through the laxity of the laws with regard to this matter, of that great blessing which is their right.

Now, Sir, there is a marked contrast between the mode of the observance of the Sabbath in Anglo-Saxon countries and upon the continent of Europe; and those who

wish to introduce here the continental Sabbath in place of the Sabbath that we now enjoy, wish to confer upon this country a curse rather than a blessing. What is the character of the continental Sabbath? At most an hour in the morning is given to mass, and the rest of the day is dedicated to the world, the flesh and the devil. Horse-racing, parades, reviews, pic-nics, excursions, drinking, dissipation—a holiday for the rich, and a day of toil for the poor—these are the characteristics of the continental Sabbath. Another characteristic is, that the nations living under that Sabbath are yearly sinking into immorality and into crime. A very satisfactory proof of this will be shown by a comparison of the morals of the countries in which the British and the American Sabbath prevails, and the morals of countries living under the continental Sabbath. Take, as a criterion, the record of illegitimate births. They amount to 4 per cent. in London, to 3½ per cent. in Paris, to 34 per cent. in Brussels, to 5½ per cent. in Vienna, and to 72 per cent. of the whole number in Rome, against 4 per cent. in England. In some cities of the United States the continental Sabbath has been introduced. It has been introduced in Chicago, in St. Louis, in Cincinnati and in San Francisco; and in every one of those cities deaths by violence are more numerous in proportion to the population than in the worst governed countries in Europe, except Italy and Spain. The result of the introduction of the continental Sabbath into those cities is perfectly apparent. Look at Cincinnati, blood-stained and murder-cursed, with the worst classes of the population in possession of the city government, and lawlessness and crime rampant and governing that city. Who are the champions of the continental Sabbath? Wherever you find the liquor dealer you will find one there. If you find a gambler, there is a champion of the continental Sabbath, and every prostitute is also a champion of it. Legislators of the type of Tweed and that villainous lot of New York aldermen who controlled the city under his *regime*—these are the advocates of the continental Sabbath. And what, Sir, are the characteristics of what they term a free Sunday? It is a Sunday free from rest, it is a Sunday free from religion, it is a Sunday free from mental culture, it is a Sunday free from moral improvement, it is a Sunday free for the employer to compel the employee to labor for him. These are the characteristics of the free Sunday, of the continental Sabbath. It is a sign of the march of improvement that there is a growing discontent with the continental Sabbath in Europe. The masses are beginning

to realise that that mode of keeping the Sabbath is not one conducive to their welfare. They are beginning to chafe and grow restive under it, and agitation for its improvement is rife in that country. Sabbath societies have already been formed in Milan, in Rome and in Naples. In Germany the Catholics and Lutherans are petitioning the Government for a better observance of the Sabbath; and the Emperor William of Germany, the Grand Duke of Baden, and the King of Wurtemberg, expressed sympathy with the object of these societies.

Now, surely, I have given evidence enough to show that the continental Sabbath has proved to be a curse rather than a blessing on the continent. I might, Mr. Speaker, spend this whole night in giving evidence from great men, which point to the desirability of enforcing Sabbath observance. I will give a few of them. Blackstone says: "A corruption of morals usually follow a profanation of the Sabbath." De Tocqueville: "Despotism may govern without faith, but liberty cannot." Mirabeau: "God is as necessary as liberty to the French people." La Place: "I have lived long enough to know what at one time I did not believe, that no society can be upheld in happiness and honor without the sentiments of religion." The great American historian, George Bancroft, says: "Certainly our great united commonwealth is the child of Christianity, and it may, with truth, be asserted that modern civilisation springs into life with our religion, and faith in its principles is the life-boat on which humanity has, at divers times, escaped the most threatening perils." Franklin, says: "What are laws without morals, and whence shall we get morals except from religion?" Washington: "Reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle." Daniel Webster: "The longer I live the more highly do I esteem the importance of the proper observance of the Christian Sabbath, and the more grateful do I feel towards those who impress its importance on the community. Mr. H. Stewart, in an address at the Sabbath Convention at Rochester, in 1842, said: "Every day's observation and experience confirm the opinion that the ordinances which require the observance of one day in seven, and the Christian faith which hallows it, are our chief security for all civil and religious liberty, for temporal blessings and spiritual hopes." When Sir John Sinclair wrote an essay against what he considered a Puritanical observance of the Sabbath in Scotland, his friend, Adam Smith, though an apologist for Hume, said: "Your book, Sir John, is very ably composed, but the Sabbath, as a political institution,

is of inestimable value, independently of its claims to Divine authority." Sabbath observance has been advocated by such men as Gladstone, D'Israeli, Shaftesbury, Argyle, Bright, Lincoln, Garfield and thousands of others. The action of the British Government in late years has been such as to show unmistakably the desire of the ruling classes in England to honor and observe the Sabbath. Three times, as I mentioned a short time since, has the British Parliament refused to consent to the opening of the British Museum on Sunday. The proposal has been defeated in each instance by an overwhelming majority. In the House of Commons it was defeated with only forty-eight votes in the affirmative, and in the House of Lords with but thirty-nine in the affirmative. When the Electrical Exhibition was held in Paris in 1881, the English and American Governments united in closing their exhibits on that day, and Mr. W. W. Atterbury, secretary of the New York Sabbath Association, in a letter to Secretary Blaine, called attention to the fact that the English and the United States Governments, at the time of the World's Exposition in London, honored the day by closing their exhibits, and he requested Mr. Blaine to instruct the American Minister at Paris that the same step might be taken with respect to the Electrical Exhibition. This is Mr. Blaine's reply:

"DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

"WASHINGTON, July 18, 1881.

"SIR—Your letter of the 14th instant, calling the attention of this Government to the propriety of respecting the Sabbath in the American section of the International Exhibition of Electricity, which is soon to be held at Paris, has been received.

"I have to inform you, in reply, that your timely suggestion meets with my cordial approval, and I have accordingly instructed Mr. Morton, the American Commissioner-General, and Mr. Walker, the Honorary Executive Commissioner, to adopt measures to secure the proper observance of the Sabbath in the American section of the Electrical Exhibition.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"JAMES G. BLAINE."

When application was made to Senator Hawley, then president of the Centennial Exposition, to open the exhibition on the Lord's Day, his noble answer was: "Before God, gentlemen, I would not dare to open the Centennial gates on the Sabbath."

So much for the utterances of great men upon this question. With respect to the observance of the Sabbath and the rules for its observance, and the tendency to set those rules at defiance, a new element has been introduced within late years. That new element is the supposed necessity for railway work. There are 900,000 railway employees in Great Britain, the United States

and the British colonies, and in consequence of the action of the railway authorities with respect to work upon the Sabbath, at least one-half of those 900,000 are constantly employed on the Sabbath day. Their employment is a matter of great hardship. They are subjected to loss of their weekly rest. The consequence is a deadening of moral influences, and, to a great extent, loss of self-respect. This is a condition of things which does not meet with the approval of the railway employees. Nine out of ten feel it is a great hardship, and express their opinion against being compelled to work on the Sabbath. I have here a petition adopted by 450 locomotive engineers of the New York Central Railway, to Mr. Vanderbilt, for the cessation of Sunday labor. It is a document which covers the whole ground, and I will ask permission from the House to read it. In this document these railway engineers set forth to this railway magnate their reasons for asking for a cessation of Sabbath work. They point out the evils of the system under which they are required to perform Sabbath labor. After pointing out how the running of trains on Sunday had become a great hardship, they continue:

"We have borne this grievance patiently, hoping every succeeding year that it would decrease. We are willing to submit to any reasonable privation, mental or physical, to assist the officers of your company to achieve a financial triumph; but after a long and weary service, we do not see any signs of relief and we are forced to come to you with our trouble, and most respectfully ask you to relieve us from Sunday labor, as far as it is in your power to do so. Our objections to Sunday labor are: First—this never-ending labor ruins our health and prematurely makes us feel worn out like old men, and we are sensible of our inability to perform our duty as well when we work to an excess. Second—that the customs of all civilised countries, as well as all laws, human and Divine, recognise Sunday as a day of rest and recuperation; and notwithstanding intervals of rest might be arranged for us on other days than Sunday, we feel that by so doing we would be forced to exclude ourselves from all church, family, and social privileges that other citizens enjoy. Third—nearly all of the undersigned have children that they desire to have educated in everything that will tend to make them good men and women, and we cannot help but see that our example in ignoring the Sabbath day has a very demoralizing effect upon them. Fourth—because we believe the best interests of the company we serve as well as ourselves, will be promoted thereby, and because we believe locomotive engineers should occupy as high, social, and religious positions as men in any other callings. We know the question will be considered: How can this Sunday work be avoided, with the immense and constantly increasing traffic? We have watched this matter for the past twenty years. We have seen it grow from its infancy until it has arrived at its now gigantic proportions, from one train on the Sabbath until we now have about thirty each way; and we do not hesitate in saying that we can do as much work in six days, with the seventh for rest, as is now done. It is a fact observable by all connected with the immediate running of freight trains that on Monday freight is comparatively light; Tuesday it strengthens a little, and keeps increasing until Saturday; and Sundays are the heaviest of the week.

"The objection may be offered, that if your lines stop the receiving points from other roads will be blocked up. In reply, we would most respectfully suggest, that when the main lines do not run, tributaries would only be too glad to follow the good example. The question might also arise, if traffic is suspended twenty-four hours, will not the company lose one-seventh of its profits? In answer, we will pledge our experience, health and strength, that at the end of the year our employers will not lose one cent, but, on the contrary, will be the gainers financially. Our reasons are these: At present, the duties of your locomotive engineers are incessant, day after day, night succeeding night, Sunday and all, rain or shine, with all the fearful inclemencies of a rigorous winter to contend with. The great strain of both mental and physical faculties constantly employed has a tendency, in time, to impair the requisites so necessary to make a good engineer. Troubled in mind, jaded and worn out in body, the engineer cannot give his duties the attention they should have in order to best advance his employer's interests. We venture to say, not on this broad continent, in any branch of business or traffic, can be found any class in the same position as railway men. They are severed from associations that all hold most dear, debarred from the opportunity of worship, that tribute man owes to his God, witnessing all those pleasures accorded to others, which are the only oasis in the deserts of this life, and with no prospect of relief. We ask you to aid us. Give us the Sabbath for rest after our week of laborious duties, and we pledge you that, with a system invigorated by a season of repose, by a brain eased and cleared by hours of relaxation, we can go to work with more energy, more mental and physical force, and can and will accomplish more work and do it better, if possible, in six days, than we can now do in seven. We can give you ten days in six if you require it, if we can only look forward to a certain period of rest. In conclusion, we hope and trust that, in conjunction with other gentlemen of the trunk lines leading to the seaboard, you will be able to accomplish something that will ameliorate our condition."

This memorial from the locomotive engineers to W. H. Vanderbilt covers the entire ground. It was a reasonable petition, an unanswerable petition, but a petition which was not granted by that magnate, though perhaps the time will come when he will answer for that failure to do his duty to his men in a court where the great railway prince will stand on the same level with the poor engine-driver. There are some hopeful features, with regard to railway work on the Sabbath, and that is the evidence that almost all the railway managers are ill at ease with regard to this infraction of Sabbath laws. The editor of the *Chicago Railway Age*, Mr. E. H. Talbot, in 1883, opened a correspondence with various railway managers throughout the United States, with reference to the question of Sunday railway labor, asking their opinions as to whether the evil should not be lessened, and as to whether Sunday traffic could not be abandoned. Many of these replies are of very great interest—of sufficient interest to warrant me, I think, in troubling the House with a few of them. I have one here from Mr. L. J. Sargeant, traffic manager of the Grand Trunk road. He says:

" GRAND TRUNK RAILWAY OF CANADA,
 " TRAFFIC MANAGER'S OFFICE,
 " MONTREAL, 26th May, 1883.

" *To the Editors of the Railway Age:*

" I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 21st instant, addressed to Mr. Hickson, and to inform you in reply, that it is not the practice of this company to run passenger trains on Sunday, excepting for the purpose of completing continuous journeys. Such trains, started on Saturday night, are permitted to go through to destination.

" As regards freight trains, we find it impracticable to suspend that service wholly on Sundays, and should only be able to do so by common agreement between all railway companies.

" On the whole, it is conceivable that the public may find the total suspension of trains on Sunday not to their benefit, as, for instance, in the case of a through train, which, if stopped on its journey, might cause serious inconvenience. At the same time it would be proper, both in the interest of railway employees and for the general benefit, that Sunday labor should be kept within the smallest practicable limits.

" Yours truly,
 " L. J. SERGEANT,
 " Traffic Manager."

Here is another communication from the manager of the Northern Pacific, dated St. Paul, 16th May, 1883:

" The next question is: Has your company taken any action towards diminution of Sunday labor?

" I answer: Not officially, but it is understood, as the wish of the management, that the heads of departments shall reduce the amount of Sunday labor in their respective departments as far as practicable. My opinion is most decidedly that the Sabbath rest is an absolute necessity for the maintenance of mental and physical vigor, and that the rule of Sabbath rest cannot long be violated with impunity. Men who conscientiously favor Sabbath observance are likely to be more faithful in the performance of duty than those who are not troubled with conscientious scruples.

" Yours truly,
 " H. HAUPF,
 " General Manager."

" *Editor Railway Age.*"

The next communication is from Mr. Ledyard, president of the Michigan Central and the Canada Southern roads:

" MICHIGAN CENTRAL RAILROAD COMPANY,
 " DETROIT, MICH., May 14, 1883.

" *To the Editors of the Railway Age:*

" I have your letter of May 11, relative to the action recently taken by the president of the Louisville, New Albany and Chicago Railway Company, in ordering the suspension of all trains upon the Sabbath day, and note your request that I shall reply to certain questions, as stated in your letter.

" 1. If all railroad companies competing for the same class of traffic from and to common points were in accord, it would be practicable, to a very large extent, to abandon the running of railway trains on the Sabbath day. The chief difficulty is, that in these days of sharp competition time has become such an important element that if one railroad company would voluntarily cease its traffic for one day during the week, while others continued, it would lose largely thereby. Yet, for example, were each of the trunk lines to absolutely refuse to exchange traffic of any kind with their connections, from 6 p. m. Saturday until Monday morning, it would be a simple matter for these trunk lines, as

well as for their western connections, to so arrange the movement of traffic as to practically do away with the running of Sunday trains.

"2. There is no question as to the desirability of prohibiting Sunday work on railways. The law of nature, to say nothing of the higher law, requires that man should have rest one day in seven. Is there any reason why a railway engineer or conductor is not entitled to his rest as much as a merchant or manufacturer?"

"3. This company has endeavored to so arrange the runs of its trainmen and engineers as to bring them home on Sunday, but little can be done in that direction without concerted action on the part of all companies interested in the same traffic.

"4. I do not believe at the end of the year the loss in traffic would be appreciable, were all Sunday work stopped, and in the better morale of the men the railway companies would be abundantly paid for doing away with work on this day.

"Looking at the question from either a moral or economical standpoint, no candid person can uphold the running of trains on Sunday. What is there in the essence of a railroad company different from any other business, which will require an exception to be made of it and its employees to work when others are allowed and expect rest?"

"The effect of this constant and never-ending work is not only injurious to the men themselves, but most deplorable to their families. If it is true, as Lord Bacon says, that a man who has a family has given a hostage to fortune, it is equally true that he should be allowed to live, at least, part of his time with those for whom he has to care, and certainly should have, at least, one day in seven, which, under our system of railway labor, he cannot have, to devote to his own and private matters.

"I am glad you have taken the matter up, for I believe if it is presented to our managers in the best light, whether from a moral or economical standpoint, a few moments reflection will show to each of them that we are all committing a fearful mistake in allowing the continuance and rapid growth of this Sunday work.

"Yours truly,

"H. B. LEDYARD,

"President."

Following is a short communication from Mr. Rutter, president of the New York Central. He says:

"It would be a great relief to managers and employees if all traffic on our railroads could cease during Sunday. I believe that every man is entitled to one day's rest in a week. It was for this that the Sabbath day was created, and it is very much to my regret that I feel compelled to say that the stopping of Sunday traffic is impracticable."

"It is hardly necessary for me to raise all the questions that occur to me in connection with this, and I can only say, that if any plan can be devised for the stoppage of Sunday work on railroads, I will gladly cooperate in it."

Next follows a letter from Mr. Bennett H. Young, president of the Louisville, New Albany and Chicago Railway Company, who had the courage to totally suspend the Sunday traffic on his road, with the exception of one local mail train. It is a letter addressed to the editor of the *Railway Age*, as follows:—

"Some weeks since I felt impelled, by various reasons, to order the discontinuance upon the Louisville, New Albany and Chicago Railway, as far as possible, of all labor on the Sabbath day. This order was not the result of an impulse, nor was it issued without the expectation of sharp

criticism and even unkind misconstruction ; it was made because I considered it right, viewed either from a religious, political or practical standpoint. It has provoked more discussion than I anticipated, but the expression of a necessity for a day of rest on the part of other railway managers has been to me exceedingly gratifying.

"While admitting that this is an age of intense practicality, and that in the hurry and drive of the present of our country, many are disposed to forget all other considerations than those of gain, this discussion has demonstrated that upon one ground or other there is deep-seated in the minds of the business men of this country a desire to observe a day of rest. For one, I do not hesitate to say that I consider the Sabbath a Divine institution, and that a disregard of the day is a violation of God's command, and that the mere fact of operating a railway for public necessity is no excuse for the dishonor done to the precept of our Maker.

"As religious bias must more or less affect particular views on this subject, many would be disposed to put aside those considerations and demand some more practical argument on the question. In the discussion of so broad a subject points can only be stated.

"1. Then, I suggest that without a day of rest man can neither enjoy health nor freedom. The Sabbath is essential to religion, and religion is essential to freedom, good government and prosperity. History contains no example of a free, progressive and successful people who did not recognise God. No thoughtful man can controvert the statement that religion is dependent upon the observance of a day of rest. Blot out the Sabbath in this country, and with it the influences of religion for a period of fifty years, and the face of our social, moral and political condition would be entirely changed. The testimony of all railroad men in this discuss on has shown that a day of relaxation or rest is essential to the proper and faithful discharge of the duties which devolve upon railway employees; and if this were not so, human experience fully establishes this principle.

"2. Whatever may be the religious views of men, it has been universally conceded that religion makes a man better qualified for the discharge of every duty, and that in every sphere in which he acts the impulse of a Christian life is for good.

"If railways teach their employees to violate the Sabbath, and also with it to violate the laws of the State, and thus dull the obligation they feel both to God and to the State, they must necessarily have less respect for the laws of the railway itself, and less sense of obligation to their employers. No man who has any intimate connection with railways can fail to observe the lack of interest on the part of the employees in the corporate welfare, and this is in a large degree attributable to the indifference of the corporate managers themselves to the rights, privileges and consciences of their employees. With the eradication of religion goes all idea of future punishment, and this renders men less controllable and less amenable to reason. Religion is a safe-guard for property as well as liberty. One church is worth a dozen policemen; and the social and moral power of religion in the discharge of the duties devolving upon men is simply immeasurable.

"I see that in one of your late issues it is rumored this order of mine will be rescinded. I have only to say that, so far as tried, the results are more than satisfactory; no injury or loss has been sustained; the employees have in many ways expressed their gratitude and thanks for this privilege which has been extended to them in the way of cessation of work on Sunday; and that so long as I remain in the management of the road no charge will be made.

"Truly yours,

"BENNET H. YOUNG,

"President."

Two months after, the *Railway Age* contained an editorial giving the results of this action of the manager of this road

—an editorial entitled, "Two Months of Sunday Observance:"

"The two months which have passed since President Young issued an order forbidding the running of Sunday trains, except those carrying mail, on the Louisville, New Albany and Chicago Railway, have been the most prosperous of any in the history of the road. President Young recently telegraphed: 'Our June business has been larger than ever before, and the aggregate earnings the largest on record.' While the experience of one railway for two months is by no means conclusive of the question at issue, yet it certainly tends to refute the position taken by so many managers, that a single railway or a portion of the railways of the country cannot afford to cease Sunday work, and that Sunday observance is not practicable unless all railways unite in it. The Louisville, New Albany and Chicago road has discontinued Sunday traffic and has increased its business, and there is no indication that its earnings for May or June are one dollar less than they would have been if its employees had been worked seven days in each week. The results of the reform inaugurated by the management of this important line will be watched with great interest. While the religious element in the problem should not be ignored or undervalued, the decisive point will doubtless be the economical results of the experiment. Meanwhile it is very gratifying to know that the host of employees of one railway in this country have been permitted, during bright May and delicious June, to enjoy the sweets of Sunday quietness and rest without doing financial injury to any one."

The last quotation I shall give with reference to Sunday work is an article from President Samuel Sloan, of the Delaware, Lackawana and Western road. This is a road which occupies a very enviable position in regard to Sunday labor. It is a road in which the late William E. Dodge was largely interested, and which has, since it first commenced running trains, scrupulously abstained from Sunday work. It is a road now reaching from New York to Buffalo, with western connections, and is one of the most prosperous in the United States. Mr. Sloan says:

"It seems to me that all railroad managers must sympathize with efforts to diminish 'Sunday labor,' now, I regret to see, on the increase. In my judgment the necessity, so much urged, does not exist, nor do the public demand from railroad management more work than ordinary labor. Railroad men have a right to rest one day in seven and to observe the Sabbath as much as any other fellow-citizens. It must be, and is conceded by all interested, that health and good discipline are promoted by this rest. Without repeating the excellent suggestions made by prominent railroad officials in the foregoing communications, I think that it would be an easy matter for the Trunk Line Commission to take up the subject, and refer it to a committee to report some regulations or agree upon certain trains that may be deemed necessary to meet any reasonable demands of competing interests or the public wants in regard to perishable property."

"SAMUEL SLOAN,
President."

So much for the positions and opinions of railway managers. The quotations I have made from a great mass of communications from railway officials show most conclusively that these

men, as a rule, feel that the position occupied by the railway corporations in the United States is not a desirable one. They evidently feel that in depriving their employees of Sunday rest, and in transacting the great mass of business transacted on the Sabbath, they are guilty of wrong-doing, and many of them feel the desire, and have taken steps in the direction of carrying out the desire they feel, to lessen the evil. No doubt it would be desirable to introduce a Bill upon this subject, of wider scope than the one presented tonight to this House, but this is probably impracticable. All the railways in Canada have absolute control over their local business, and the forbidding of excursion trains on the Sabbath will not imperil the interest of any trunk line in the Dominion, but if we went further we might seriously interfere with railway corporations whose operations are, to a great extent, through business, and being thus intimately united with the traffic in the United States, the co-operation of the United States railways would be required. But we can deal with the question so far as the Bill now presented to the House deals with it, and it is to prevent this form of Sunday desecration, these excursions by railway or steamer, that this Bill is introduced. Many arguments are adduced in favor of Sunday excursions. They are said to be conducive to health and rest, and that it would be a hardship to deprive the people at large of the privilege of going upon Sunday excursions. I propose, for a few moments, to examine into that assertion and see whether it rests upon adequate grounds. Rest and health, I think, we will find when we examine into this question, are not promoted by Sunday excursions, but that as a rule they have a directly opposite effect. So far from promoting health and rest, they are often drunken saturnalias, resulting, more often than not, in riot and even in robbery and murder. Let me give a specimen of Sunday excursions. It is rather an aggravated specimen, but it will answer as a specimen of the whole class :

"FREE LIQUOR, SABBATH-BREAKING AND MURDER.—On the Sabbath, August 31st 1884, in the afternoon, a barge towed by a steam tug made fast to a pier at the foot of West Eleventh street, in New York. She had returned prematurely from an excursion on which she had set out in the morning. Scarcely were her lines made fast when a crowd of drunken men poured hurriedly ashore and rapidly dispersed. Many of the men were without hats or coats, and the faces of many were bruised and bleeding. The dresses of the women were disordered, and their hair fell tangled about their shoulders. On board, the evidences of a fierce fight were everywhere apparent. The deck was strewn with broken glass, with sandwiches and boiled hams, and was slippery with ice cream and beer. In the cabin the dead body of a middle-aged man lay on the floor, his three sons sobbing beside him."

Then it goes on to describe the excursion of the employees of the Empire steam laundry, New York. They were going down to Linden Grove, on Staten Island, for rest and health; they went well primed with whiskey and beer, and were not long out when the men became infuriated by liquor and engaged in a free fight, in which the women also took part. A poor and inoffensive German, who had charge of the lunch counter, being unable to fill twenty orders at once, was attacked by these people with beer bottles and clubs, mangled dreadfully and beaten to death. This was a fair specimen of Sunday excursions, such as sail every Sabbath day from New York to Coney Island and Staten Island.

The Rev. Mr. Crafts, who has taken great interest in the Sabbath question, has addressed enquiries to a great number of employers in various parts of the Union. He has addressed enquiries to about 150 large employers of labor, the object of these enquiries being to ascertain whether the employees who spend the Sabbath in this way, or the church-going employees are the most valuable laborers, and the answers are almost uniformly to the effect that the church-going people are the most valuable. One employer, who employs 200 men, says, "Church going men are 25 per cent. more effective as laborers than those who spend their Sundays in Sunday excursions." A German pastor, who has charge of a large church in New York, says: "Those who spend Sundays in pic-nics require all day Monday to get over the effects of their recreation." The general testimony on the subject is that Sabbath observers and church-goers, whether laborers, mechanics, merchants or professional men, are in far better condition to enter on work when they spend the Sunday in church-going, than those who spend the Sunday, even in comparatively innocent pleasure. Pic-nics, no doubt, are tiresome, while, on the contrary, short practical sermons are restful. Colonel Fairbanks, of the standard scales business, says:

"Those who attend church and Sunday school on Sunday are the most valuable in our business. I can tell the difference between them and others in the work in the shop."

Church-goers can be recognised in a crowd, for they are clean, healthy and prosperous. Mr. Clem Studenbarker, the manager of a very extensive wagon factory in Ohio, says:

"My observation is that clerks and mechanics who spend their Sabbath in church and Sabbath school work are the best fitted for the work in the office, or in the shop, on Monday morning."

The celebrated Hugh Miller, the great geologist in Scotland, gives the following very interesting description of the

appearance of a train of Sunday excursionists returning to Edinburgh after a day in the country :—

"There did not seem to be much enjoyment about the wearied and somewhat draggled groups; they wore, on the contrary, rather an unhappy physiognomy, as if they had missed spending the day quite to their minds, and were now returning sad and disappointed to the round of toil from what ought to have proved a sweet relaxation and relief. A congregation just dismissed from hearing a vigorous evening discourse would have borne to a certainty a more cheerful air."

But it may be asked what reasons may be given for suppressing Sunday excursions? I would answer that they are open to several objections. They are open to this objection: They rob one class of employees of their Sunday rest in order that they may minister to the pleasure of others. I refer to the men employed upon railway trains and steamers. These men are prevented taking Sunday rest in order that the passengers by train or steamboat may enjoy Sunday pic-nics. The next reason is, such excursions are fruitful of disorder, vice and crime; the next is, because such excursions invade the Sabbath quiet and morality of places to which they go, and the next reason is, because they secularise the Sabbath, and, by breaking down its sacredness, they prepare for the abolition of the rest to all classes that the Sabbath is designed to give. It may be said: It is unnecessary to deal with this question by law; it is a moral matter; let public sentiment settle it. In relation to that, I may answer that the Sabbath cannot be preserved without law. It has been found necessary to put laws upon the Statute Book with regard to Sabbath observance in England since 876; in the fourth century, Constantine passed a law in regard to Sabbath observance; and it will be found that, where there are no Sabbath laws, there is practically no Sabbath. The Christian sentiment of Canada, I believe the universal Christian sentiment of Canada, is in favor of this measure. I believe I am warranted in this assertion by the pastoral letter of Archbishop Taschereau, by the utterances of His Holiness the Pope, of Cardinal McCloskey, of Archbishop Gibbon, of the Bishop of Buffalo, all these high church dignitaries expressly prohibiting Sunday excursions and declaring them to be sinful. I am warranted by the concurrent testimony of the Protestant divines in this country, and by the demand of the great mass of the Christian people of this country. I am warranted in saying that the Christian sentiment of Canada, of all sects and classes of believers, asks for this Bill from this House. We fortunately, as a people, enjoy a very high character with respect to Sabbath observance. It is said that the city of Toronto enjoys the proud position

of being the city of all the cities upon the face of the globe where the Sabbath is observed most strictly; and this characteristic applies to such cities as Hamilton, London, in a great degree to such cities as Ottawa and Montreal, to the cities of the Maritime Provinces, and even to Quebec.

An hon. MEMBER. Even?

Mr. CHARLTON. Yes; the mode of spending the Sabbath in Quebec is perhaps not quite as strict as in Montreal or in Ottawa, but, as compared with other cities in other countries, there is not a city in the Dominion of Canada that does not occupy a favorable position in regard to Sabbath observance. Now, we have a right to ask, with all the concurrence of testimony from the various prelates and divines in this country and the evident pressure of public sentiment in this respect, that this Government shall do all it can possibly do to preserve this noble record which this country has, and I have the honor to present this Bill to the House of Commons for its second reading to-night. The Bill provides simply that Sunday excursions by steamboats plying for hire, or by railway, or in part by railway and in part by steamboat, starting and returning the same day, shall be prohibited; and it provides a penalty of \$500 for an infraction of this law, to be collected upon complaint of any individual in the county, city or town from which the excursion starts, one-half of the penalty to go to the informer or prosecutor and the other half to the municipality of the county, city or town in which the action is brought. The Bill does not apply to ferries or to steamboats employed thereon, but simply and exclusively to excursions by steamboat or railway, or in part by steamboat and in part by railway. Mr. Speaker, I move the second reading of the Bill.

Mr. CHAPLEAU in speaking to the question, complimented the mover of the Bill upon his researches and his earnestness. He admitted that the Sabbath was of divine origin, and said that no one could deny the good in a humanitarian sense of one day's rest in seven. The manner of spending Sunday was a matter of education. Men who gave an hour to mass and the rest of the day to recreation might be just as good fathers of families as those who spent the day reading the bible in their houses. The Bill he held infringed upon Provincial rights and proposed legislation that came within the limits of Provincial rather than of Dominion jurisdiction.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD. The speech of the hon. gentleman who introduced this Bill has been addressed to the whole subject of Sabbath observance, but the Bill is

confined to only one branch of that question. The first clause provides :

"Sunday excursions by steamboats plying for hire, or by railway, or in part by any such steamboat and in part by railway, and having for their only or principal object the carriage of Sunday passengers for amusement or pleasure only, and to go and return on the same day, by the same steamboat or railway, or any other owned by the same person or persons or company, shall be unlawful and shall not be deemed a lawful conveying of travellers, within the meaning of any statute of Canada, or of any Province of Canada, permitting the conveyance of travellers on the Lord's Day."

The second clause goes on to say that the owners shall be liable to be sued in a civil court by civil action for a large sum of money, and this sum is recoverable in any court of competent jurisdiction, in the place in which the steamboat or train employed on the excursion started, or through which it passed, or at which it stopped, and the money recovered shall be divided, one moiety to go to the plaintiff, and the other moiety to the municipality of the city, town, village or place from which the unlawful excursion started. The Bill is limited to excursions, and it is provided that such conveyances shall be considered to be unlawful, and that the owners of them shall be subject to a civil action. It seems to me that the constitutional point taken by the Secretary of State is a good one; that this is a matter affecting civil rights. If Parliament should take the responsibility of declaring that such excursions, or any act of non-observance or breach of observance of the Sabbath, was a crime, it might thereby be brought within the criminal law, and therefore within the competence of this Parliament. It seems to me that the mere fact of its not being declared to be a crime, but merely to be an unlawful act, and the action to be brought a civil action for damages, gives away the case, so far as the competence of the Dominion Parliament is concerned. The hon. gentleman, in fact, declared in his speech that he did not propose to interfere with vessels sailing on a long voyage, or railways carrying through traffic. That might interfere with our relations with the United States, or with the great currents of trade. Well, it might be, Mr. Speaker, that under the authority of several decisions, that the effect of this through traffic, this wholesale traffic, being the traffic which the hon. gentleman does not wish to interfere with—that traffic might come within the Dominion law; but these excursions, such as in Toronto harbor, or those my hon. friend has spoken of from Montreal or Quebec, certainly ought to be within the governance and control of the Provincial Legislature, and the provincial administration of affairs—within the cognizance and control of the municipalities. It appears to me that the Bill is *ultra vires*.

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